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Tracts in Amer. 4.

THE THEATRE OF THE PRESENT WAR IN NORTH AMERICA:

WITH

Candid Reflections on the great Importance of the War in that Part of the World.

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PREFACE.

EVERY piece of news I have met with in the publick papers from America ſince the beginning of the preſent war, in fact, is the reaſon of my troubling the world with this tract. I doubt not but that the generality of engliſhmen have a natural curioſity to know what is doing in a part of the world which ſo nearly concerns them: at leaſt I can anſwer

ſwer that this is the caſe with myſelf. When I hear of battles fought, fortreſſes beſieged, and ſchemes laid for the opperations of war, I generally turn to a map, which informs me where any place is, but then it leaves us quite in the dark, as to many intereſting particulars. The ſcene of action is now in America: to underſtand perfectly what the advantage or diſadvantage of any place being taken on either ſide, is to us, it is neceſſary not only to know the latitude and longitude of ſuch a place (which is frequently the beſt part of the accounts ſome authors give) but its ſituation with regard to its neigbourhood; what nations of indians it lies near to;

Whether

Whether thoſe indians are beſt affected to us, or our enemies; what french forts or ſettlements are neareſt, and their diſtance; if that can be known, which is not always the caſe in that uninhabited and extenſive country: Theſe and many other particulars, too tedious to be mention'd here, I have had a proper regard to in the following treatiſe: I cannot ſay by way of recommendation to it, that I have perſonally travelled over the countries I ſpeak of, but I have carefully and dilligently conſulted all the authors of any credit that have wrote upon this ſubject, and extracted form

from them what I thought would illuſtrate this piece: This I endeavoured to do by comparing them together, to ſee in what particulars they agree, which I look upon to be the only way to come at the truth, which I have never diſguiſed or prevaricated in any accounts whatever: nor have I impoſed my own inventions on the world, as the reader may ſatisfy himſelf, if he pleaſes to compare this account with thoſe of others who have handled the ſubject before me. I have diſguiſed nothing out of paſſion, or to pleaſe any faction or party.

Perhaps

Perhaps the reader will be apt to ask, what occaſion there is for a new account of the countries I treat of, there being ſeveral very good ones already? My anſwer to this queſtion is, that it is ſo far from being an objection, that it would rather confirm me in my deſign, as the more good accounts there is publiſhed, the more there will be for me to conſult, and conſequently my treatiſe, I flatter myſelf, would be the more compleat. Likewiſe the eaſineſs of the price of this ſmall tract, I hope will work powerfully in my favour with many readers.

THE THEATRE OF THE Preſent WAR, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Of Cape Breton and Louiſburg.

THE iſland of Cape Breton (by ſome called Cape iſland, and by others *Iſle Royale*) is ſituated between 61 and 62 degrees of weſt longitude; and between 45 and 48 degrees of north latitude, in the Atlantic ocean, ſeperated from Acadia (or Nova Scotia) by the narrow ſtrait of Canſo; and is about 100 miles in length, and 50 in breadth. 'Tis indented by many bays, particularly by

one on the eaſt ſide, that runs in from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, and almoſt divides it into two. It produces ſea-coal, lime, oaks of a prodigious ſize, pines, and all ſorts of timber-trees; but the moſt common, except oaks and pines, are the cedar, aſh, maple, plane tree, and aſpin; the forreſts of this iſland conſiſt moſtly of pines.

It has in its coaſts, ſeveral places of good anchorage, both on the eaſtern coaſt, which terminates at cape nord; and alſo on that running ſouthward from eaſt to weſt: Of theſe, the beſt for largeneſs and ſecurity, are St. Anne's bay with a narrow entrance; and Gabarn bay; but theſe are both uninhabited. The only place of any conſequence is,

LOUISBURG ſituated on the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland; it is built on a point of land and is of a middling ſize; the ſtreets are broad and regular, and compoſed moſtly of ſtone. It is walled and extremely well fortified with all modern works, which are about two miles and a quarter round. It has a large parade at a ſmall diſtance from the citadel, the inſide of which is a fine ſquare, near two hundred feet each way; the north ſide of which is taken up with the governor's houſe, and pariſh church; the other three ſides contain barracks for the garriſon, which are bomb proof: The entrance into

into it is over a draw-bridge, on one ſide, of which is a *corps de garde*, and advanced centinels on the other.

The greateſt extent of the town is from the citadel to the ſtone gate, call'd the duke de Pentheivre, which is more than half an engliſh mile. The ramparts are all mounted with heavy cannon. There are three gates in the north-weſt ſide of the town which look into the harbour, and have bridges run into the water, ſo that at any time you may load any ſort of goods with very great eaſe.

The harbour of Louisburg is ſo very extenſive, that the whole navy of Great Britain might ride in it with the utmoſt ſafety; its mouth is about four hundred fathom broad; it is much confin'd by goat-iſland, whereon ſtands a pretty large fort, and on the oppoſite ſide is a very high tower, that ſerves as a light-houſe, which ſtands on a high rocky point and may be ſeen in a clear night five leagues off at ſea. The harbour is in breadth from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, more than half an engliſh mile in the narroweſt place; and in length from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, near ſix miles; and from ſix to eight fathom water, good holding ground. The coaſt of it on the north ſide within, forms a point which advances towards the ſhore, till it faces the mouth of the harbour;

and here alſo is the royal battery, which defends the entrance of the harbour, and the fort on that ſide; in the north eaſt part of the harbour, is a fine careening wharf for men of war to heave down, and very ſafe from all winds, being land lock'd and having a conſiderable depth of water; for which reaſon the country veſſels lie up here in the winter. In ſummer they all come to an anchor before the town at about a quarter of a league diſtance; though the ſmaller veſſels may come within a cable's length of the ſhore, where they lie quiet from all winds, except the eaſt, which blows right into the harbour's mouth, and cauſes ſome agitation, but without any danger to the ſhips at anchor therein. On the oppoſite ſide of this careening warf are the fiſhing ſtages, and room for two thouſand boats to make their fiſh. In ſhort, it is a fine place to make an extenſive and advantageous fiſhery; for you may load your boats twice a day in the harbour's mouth, and within call of the centry boat, from the iſland and lighthouſe battery. But in winter this harbour is ſo entirely frozen, that it may be walk'd over; that ſeaſon begins here at the end of November, and continues till May or June; ſometimes the froſts ſet in ſooner, and are more intenſe, as in the year 1745, when by the middle of October a great part of the harbour was already frozen.

The

The fortifying this city, before we took it in 1745, coſt the french above two hundred thouſand of livres: and ſince it has been in their poſſeſſion, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle, it has coſt them three times that ſum; it is the key to north America.

The inhabitants of Louisburg conſiſt of french families, ſome europeans, and other creoles of the place itſelf, and Plącentia in Newfoundland, from whence they removed hither, on the ceeding that iſland to the crown of Great Britain.

The chief trade of the inhabitants is the cod fiſhery, from which a vaſt profit annually acrues to them; the neighbouring ſeas affording the beſt of any about Newfoundland. Many of them were in thriving circumſtances: Their wealth lies in their ſtore-houſes, ſome of which are within the fort, and others ſcatter'd along the ſhore. Many of them have forty or fifty fiſhing boats each, which are daily employed and will load twice a day in the harbour's mouth. Ships reſort hither from moſt of the ports in France, and always find their ſtore-houſes fill'd with cod; in exchange for which they bring proviſions and other goods. The ſame trade is likewiſe carried on with the french ſugar colonies, for their produce: And the remainder of their cod finds a vent in Canada. The inhabitants have dwellings

ings and ſtore-houſes on the iſland of St. John, with all the apurtenances of a fiſhery.

The importance of this iſland and fortreſs, we come next to conſider.

The iſland of Cape Breton ſituated between Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, the engliſh exchanged for Placentia in the treaty of Utrecht; ſeems deſign'd as a repoſitory between old and new France, as it commands the entrance into St. Lawrence's bay; and by conſequence covers all french Canada, between which, and old France, there can be no communication, unleſs the french have poſſeſſion of this iſland.

By the advantage of this place the french carried on an unbounded and ineſtimable fiſhery, annually employing at leaſt a thouſand ſail, from 200 to 400 tuns, and 20,000 men. In the year 1730, there was a computation made of 220,000 quintals of fiſh at Marſeilles only, for a market, and communibus annis, they cure above 5000000 of quintals. How dangerous a nurſery of ſeamen this iſland has been and ever would have been while in their poſſeſſion, is very obvious from the above and following particulars.

Whoever are poſſeſſed of Newfoundland and Acadia, if they have Cape Breton at the ſame time, may command all the fiſhery of North

north America: but whoever have Newfoundland and Acadia, if they have not Cape Breton likewiſe, can pretend only to a ſhare in this fiſhery, and not the beſt ſhare neither, if the people of another nation, who are in poſſeſſion of Cape Breton, be better protected and more induſtrious than the poſſeſſors of Newfoundland and Acadia.

The french without Cape Breton have no fiſhing ground left them nearer than old France, therefore they will not expoſe themſelves to the frequent ſurprizes and captures of the engliſh, from this iſland and the continent; but finally will be obliged to quit the undertaking, leaving the engliſh in the poſſeſſion of this valuable branch of trade, which annually will return to the engliſh nation 2000000 pounds ſterling; for the manufactures yearly ſhipp'd to her plantations, and conſtantly employ thouſands of families, otherwiſe unſerviceable to the publick, and greatly increaſe ſhipping navigation and mariners. It's further to be obſerved, while the Engliſh ſolely ſupply foreign markets with this commodity, roman-catholick families muſt have a ſort of dependence on them.

The conqueſt of this important place will not only hurt the french nation in general, (our moſt dangerous rivals) by depriving them of their fiſhery; but muſt largely abridge

abridge the revenue of France, by leſſening the conſumption of french ſalt, the profit of which is ſolely in the crown, and more than half of which that was made in the kingdom, was employ'd in this fiſhery. At the ſame time the revenue from our own ſalt trade, which ſtands engaged for a conſiderable part of the national debt, may be made to increaſe in proportion as that of france is leſſened.

The advantages that ariſe from this fiſhery are not merely the profits of the fiſh, or the ſalt to cure it, but the vaſt conſumption of Britiſh manufactures of moſt kinds, that muſt be occaſion'd by this trade; and the ſuperiority it muſt inevitably preſerve to us at ſea, by being an eternal nurſery of perhaps thirty, forty, or fifty thouſand ſeamen, ſince nobody can tell what numbers might be employed while we had this trade ſolely in our poſſeſſion.

Cape Breton was not only uſeful to France by the great ſale of french commodities it occaſion'd, but alſo afforded France an eaſy opportunity to tranſport their wines, brandy, linen, ribbons, ſilk, &c, into the engliſh colonies, which trade would have become very conſiderable, becauſe the engliſh, would furniſh themſelves at Cape Breton and in Canada with all thoſe merchandizes, not only for the American continent, where their

their colonies are exceeding populous, but alſo for their iſlands, and for thoſe of the dutch too, with whom they trade. By which means the french would get a great deal of money from all thoſe colonies, even tho' the importation of ſuch merchandizes were not openly allowed. *

By the taking this important place, Quebec muſt in the run of a very little time fall into the hands of the engliſh, provided we keep at a peace what we have gain'd by the war: and the indians wanting the uſual protection and ſupplies from France, will be obliged to court the engliſh for both; and having once experienced the treatment of both nations, as the latter can ſupply them better and cheaper, than the former, they will conſequently be rivetted in intereſt to her; and thus the engliſh will render themſelves entirely maſters of a rich and profitable furr trade, at preſent chiefly engroſſed by the french.

But the conſideration alone that the britiſh navigation and ſettlements on the ſea coaſt, throughout North America, laid terribly expoſed to men of war and privateers from that iſland; for from thence the french with eaſe and in a little time ſtation'd themſelves in latitudes proper to intercept the navigation

* Vide Randot's memorial to the court of France.

between England and her plantations, and the intercourſe of trade ſubſiſting between one plantation and another; by captures ſupplying themſelves with engliſh manufactures, naval ſtores, maſts, plank, yards, lumber, ſugar, cotton, proviſions &c. And from its vicinity with the continent might with the ſame eaſe ſurprize our ſettlements all along the coaſt, and take the maſt ſhips when loaded out of Caſco and Portſmouth harbours. Whereas the acceſſion of this iſland to the britiſh dominions, will not only ſecure our navigation, and guard our coaſts in America, but will be a ſafe retreat for our men of war in the hurricane months, or when threatned with a ſuperior force; beſides, there they may refit with greater ſafety, and leſs expence to the crown than in any other harbour in north America.

The keeping therefore of Cape Breton, the improving of the fiſhery there, and purſuing our ſucceſſes at ſea, which is properly our element; is the only means we have of ſuſtaining and encreaſing our own power, and ſetting back for a long courſe of years, that of an irreconcileable and enterprizing enemy.

C

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Canada, River St. Lawrence, and Quebec.

THE immenſe country, call'd by the french, Canada, is according to them half as big as Europe: It borders upon our provinces of Nova-Scotia, New England and New York, on the eaſt and north-eaſt, Louiſiana on the ſouth, and that unknown tract of land which ſtreatches to the ſouth-ſea, on the weſt, and our colony of Hudſon's-bay on the north. The climate reſembles that of our own colonies; but as it is much further from the ſea, and more northerly than a great part of thoſe provinces, it has a much ſeverer winter; tho' the air is generally clear. The cold is beyond all meaſure, from the month of December to that of April; during that ſpace of time, the river St. Lawrence is always frozen over, notwithſtanding the flowing and ebbing of the ſea; and the ſnow upon the ground is three or four feet deep; which is very ſtrange in a country that lies in the latitude of 47

degrees and ſome odd minutes. And what is ſtill more ſtrange, the ſummer days are longer here than at Paris; the weather is then ſo clear and ſerene, that in three weeks time you ſhall not ſee a cloud in the horrizon. The ſoil is various; moſtly barren; but the french have ſettlements where the land is equal in goodneſs to that in any of our colonies; it yields indian corn very well in moſt parts; and very fine wheat in ſome: All ſorts of garden ſtuff which grows in Europe flouriſhes here: In particular they ſow peaſe, which are much eſteem'd in France. All ſorts of grain are very cheap here, as well as butchers meat and fowl. The price of wood is almoſt nothing in compariſon with the charge of its carriage, which after all, is very inconſiderable; the whole country (except the little that is planted) being a continued foreſt. They raiſe no ſtaple commodity to anſwer their demands upon old France: their trade with the indians produces all their returns for that market. They are the furs of the beaver principally, and thoſe of foxes and racoons, with deer-ſkins, and all the branches of the peltry. Theſe, with what corn and lumber they ſend to the Weſt Indies, a people not very luxurious nor extremely numerous, furniſh, though very little money, yet where-

with-

withal, in a plentiful country, to render life eaſy and agreeable.

The ſhips bound from old Frace to this country, ſet out commonly the latter end of April, or the beginning of May; and at the cloſe of Auguſt, or the beginning of September; with reſpect to all the reſt of the year, there is no going thither. They are generally fitted out from Rochel, and ſome from Bourdeaux. Their cargoe conſiſts of wine, brandy, cloths, linen and wrought iron; they pay no cuſtom for their cargoe, whether in clearing in France, or in their entries at Quebec; at leaſt it is ſo very inconſiderable, as hardly to make two per cent in both places. Moſt of the ſhips go laden to Canada, and return light or empty. Some indeed which belong to the topping merchants of the colony return home loaded with ſkins, which turn to an immenſe account. But theſe are few; others bring home peaſe when they are good and cheap in the colony; and others take in a cargoe of plants and boards; others again go to the iſland of Cape Breton, and there take in a cargoe of pit-coal, which they carry to the iſlands of Martinico, or Guardaloup, where the refining of ſugars occaſions a great conſumption of coals.

In

In Canada the french have traders, whom they call coureurs de bois, who in the manner of the original inhabitants, traverſing the vaſt lakes and rivers that divide this country, in canoes of bark, with incredible induſtry and patience, carry their goods into the remoteſt parts of America, and amongſt nations entirely unknown to us; they carry, a ſort of duffil blankes, guns, powder, and ball, kettles, hatchets, and tomahawks, with all ſorts of toys and trinkets; theſe they diſpoſe of among all the ſavage nations of the continent, by way of exchange for beaver ſkins; they are ſometimes a year and half, or two years in their voyage, and clear an immenſe profit: and as ſoon as they come home, ſpend it all in lewdneſs and debauchery, gaming and drunkenneſs. This done, they are forced to go upon a new voyage for ſubſiſtence.

The number of inhabitants are not above one hundred thouſand ſouls; they have ſeven or eight thouſand militia, hardy and well diſciplined, always in readineſs to co-operate with their regular troops; and there is nothing which may hinder their operations from within themſelves.

The french colonies are particularly under the care and inſpection of the council of commerce; a board very judiciouſly conſtituded to anſwer the purpoſes for which

it

it is deſigned, The government of Canada is in a governor, and intendant, and a royal council. The governor is inveſted with a great deal of power; which however, on the ſide of the crown, is check'd by the intendant, who has the care of the king's rights, and whatever relates to the revenue; and on the ſide of the people it is check'd by the royal council, whoſe office it is to ſee that the people are not oppreſs'd by the one, nor defrauded by the other. The governors ſallery is paid by the crown. His perquiſites are none. All the other officers are likewiſe paid by the crown, and out of the revenues of old France; the fortifications are built and repaired, and the ſoldiers are paid out of the ſame funds. About 120,000 crowns come annually from France, which finds them circulating caſh.

I will conclude my general account of Canada with the words of a late french author.*

The Engliſh our neighbours are of a very different character, and whoever were to judge of the two colonies by the actions and manners of the people, would pronounce ours to be the moſt flouriſhing. In New

* Charlevoix.

England

England and other parts of the britiſh empire in America, there reigns indeed a wealth, which the poſſeſſors ſeem not to know the uſe of. In new France there is a poverty conceal'd by an air of eaſe and content, which ſeems natural. Commerce, and the improvement of their plantations, ſtrengthen the Engliſh. The induſtry of the french ſupports them, and their gaiety, natural to the nation, renders them agreeable. The engliſh planter amaſſes riches, and makes no ſuperfluous expences: the french planter ſpends what he gets, and often makes a ſhow of what he has not. The engliſhman labours for poſterity; the frenchman leaves his heirs to ſtruggle with the ſame difficulties he found himſelf, without troubling his head further. The american engliſh are not fond of war, becauſe they have a great deal to loſe, and they deſpiſe the indians becauſe they are no way afraid of them. Our french youth, for quite oppoſite reaſons, deteſt peace, and live on good terms with the ſavages, whoſe eſteem they eaſily gain in time of war, and have their friendſhip at all times.

I come next to give a brief account of the great River St. Lawrence.

We are at a loſs to find the head of this river; for though it has been traced ſeven or eight hundred leagues up, yet it's ſourſe was

was never yet reach'd; the remoteſt place that the Coureurs de Bois go to, being the lake Lenemipigon, which diſembogues into the upper lake, as that does into the lake of Hurons, and that in the lake Errie, and the lake Errie into that of Ontario, which forms this laſt great river, that runs for twenty leagues with a pretty gentle ſtream, and ſweeps through 30 more with a very rapid current, 'till it reaches the city of Montreal, to which place it is navigable for large veſſels, but no further; for near that town there is a dangerous cataract which interrupts the navigation. From this city to Quebec, which is upwards of 120 leagues, it continues its courſe with ſome moderation. From Quebec to its mouth, which is 120 leagues, it is no where leſs than four or five leagues broad, till it comes juſt before that city, where it narrows ſo that it is there but a mile broad; this city is perhaps the only one in the world that can boaſt a freſh-water harbour, capable of containing 100 men of war of the line at 120 leagues diſtant from the ſea. But it is of very difficult and dangerous navigation (which is an incurable evil, and has kept back their colony very much) and frozen up for almoſt half the year, and covered with thick exhalations and fogs for the greater part of the reſt. This is the only river upon

which the french have ſettlements of any * note.

On this great river ſtands the city of QUEBEC, which is the metropolis of new France, and lies in lat. 40. 32. long. 60. 40. on the north ſide of the river St. Lawrence, at 120 leagues diſtance from the ſea; it is ſituated on the narroweſt part of the river: between it and the iſle of Orleans is a baſon, a full league in diameter every way, into which the river St. Charles empties itſelf from the north-weſt: Quebec ſtands exactly between this river and cape Diamond, which advances out behind it. The anchorage or road is oppoſite in 25 fathom, good ground: however, when the wind blows hard at N. E. ſhips often drive, but without danger.

This city was founded by Samuel Champlain in 1608: 'tis divided into an upper and lower town all built of ſtone, and moſtly in a handſome manner; the merchants live in the latter for the conveniency of the har-

* Charlevoix's hiſtory of New France.
La Honton's voyage to north America,
Account of the European ſettlements in America.
Keith's hiſtory of the Britiſh plantations.
M. de Poteric's hiſtory of north America.
Britiſh empire in America.
Douglaſs's hiſtory of north America.

bour,

bour, upon which they have built very fine houſes three ſtory high, of a ſort of ſtone that is as hard as marble. There are reckon'd about 7000 ſouls.

The church in the lower town was built in conſequence of a vow made during the ſeige of Quebec in the year 1690: the building is plain, its chief ornament being its neatneſs and ſimplicity.

The biſhop's palace has nothing finiſh'd but the chapel, and part of the building deſigned by the plan, which is a long quadrangle; when finiſh'd it will be a fine ſtructure: the gardens extend to the brow of the hill, and command the road; this terras is admirably ſituated, and the view from it is delightful. The cathedral would make but a mean figure, even in one of the ſmalleſt towns in France, it has quite the air of a country-church. The ſeminary which joins this church is a large ſquare whoſe buildings are yet unfiniſhed.

The fort is a handſome building with two wings: you enter by a ſpacious and regular court, but there is no garden, becauſe it is built on the edge of a rock; this defect is ſupplied, in ſome meaſure, by a fine gallery, with a balcony, or baluſtrade, which ſurrounds the building, and commands the road, and from whence you ſee all the lower town under your feet. Leaving the fort to

the left, you croſs a pretty large eſplanade, and by an eaſy deſcent you reach the ſummit of cape Diamond, which forms a natural plat-form; beſides the beauty of the proſpect hence, you breathe the pureſt air, and may ſee numbers of porpoiſe, swhite as ſnow, playing on the ſurface of the waters. The fathers recollect, have a large and fine church, ſuch as might even do them honor at Verſailles: the convent is anſwerable to the church, large, ſtrongly built, and commodious, with a ſpacious garden kept in good order. The convent of the Urſulines has been twice deſtroy'd by fire, but they are rebuilt; they are cleanly and commodiouſly lodged: this is the effect of the good reputation they have in the colony, as well owing to their frugality, temperance and induſtry. The jeſuits college is a noble building and an elegant piece of architecture; the garden is large and well kept; the church has nothing beautiful without, but a handſome chapel: it is covered with ſlate, in which it has the advantage of all the churches in Canada, which are only roof'd with planks: the floor of it is of wood and not ſtone, which makes this church warm; while others are inſupportably cold. The houſe of the intendant is call'd the palace, becauſe the ſurpreme council aſſemble here: it is a large building whoſe two extremities ſink ſome feet, and to which you aſcend by

a double flight of ſteps; the front to the garden which has a proſpect of the river St. Charles, is much more agreeable than that you enter at. The king's magazines form the right ſide of the court, and the priſon lies behind them. At about a quarter of a league diſtance from this palace is the general hoſpital: this is the moſt beautiful building in Canada, and would be no diſgrace to the fineſt town in France; the only fault of this edifice is its marſhy ſituation; but the river St. Charles, in this place making a turn, its waters do not flow eaſily, and the evil is without remedy.

Quebec is not regularly fortified; but they have been long at work to render it capable of a ſeige: the town as it is, is naturally ſtrong; the port is flanked by two baſtions, which, at high tides, are even almoſt with the water, that is to ſay, they are 25 feet high, which is the height the tides flow here at the equinoxes. A little above the baſtion to the right, is a half baſtion cut out of the rock; and a little higher, nearer the fort, is a battery mounted of 24 pieces: higher ſtill is a ſquare fort called the citadel, which is a regular and beautiful fortification, and in which the governor reſides. The ways that communicate between theſe fortifications are extremely rugged. To the left of the port, along the road, to the river

river of St. Charles, are good batteries of cannon and ſome mortars. From the angle of the citadel facing the town, they have drawn a curtain a-ſlant, which joins a redoubt pretty ſteep, on which is a wind-mill fortified: deſcending from hence, you find within 2 muſket ſhot, a tower with a baſtion, and at an equal diſtance, a ſecond. The deſign was to cover all this part with a counterſcarp, having the ſame angles as the baſtions; and which ſhould end at the extremity of the rock near the palace of the intendant, where there is already a ſmall redoubt, as there is another off cape Diamond: I know not why the deſign was not executed.

After this account of the capital, it may be expected I ſhould ſay ſomething of its principal inhabitants. I have already ſaid the number of people does not exceed 7000: but amongſt theſe you find a ſelect Beau Monde, whoſe converſation is deſirable. A governor general, with his houſehold, nobility, officers, an intendant, with a ſupreme council, and inferior magiſtrates, a commiſſary of marine, a grand provoſt, a grand hunter, a grand maſter of waters and forreſts, whoſe juriſdiction is the longeſt in the world, rich merchants, and ſuch as appear to live at eaſe: a biſhop and numerous ſeminary; two colleges

leges of recollect and jeſuits; three nunneries; polite aſſemblies at the lady governeſs's and the lady intendant's; ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible but a man muſt ſpend his time agreeably in this city. Indeed every body here contributes to this end by parties at cards or of pleaſure: the creolians, or french born here, breathe an air of freedom, which makes their acquaintance agreeable, and they ſpeak the french language with a purity not to be found in many parts of France, having no falſe * accent.

* Charlevoix's hiſtory of new France.
Poterie's hiſtory of new France.
New General Atlas.
Compleat ſyſtem of geography.
Douglaſs's hiſtory of North America.
La Honton's voyages to north America.
Salmon's modern hiſtory.
New account of the European ſettlements in America.
Britiſh empire in America.
Harriſes's collection of voyages and travels.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

OF THE

Country, Forts, and Settlements,

BETWEEN

Quebec and Fort Frontenac.

THE immenſe country of Canada is, only now, but little known, and even the banks of the river St. Lawrence planted; but they are well inhabited; and there are ſeveral villages of Savages, who have been converted to chriſtianity in the neighbourhood of Quebec. From that city to Montreal, which is 150 miles diſtance, the country, on both ſides the river, is very well ſettled, and has an agreeable effect on the eye. The farms lie pretty cloſe all the way; ſeveral gentlemen's houſes, neatly built, ſhew themſelves at intervals; and there is all the appearance of a flouriſhing colony; but there are no towns or villages. It is pretty much like the well ſettled parts of our colonies of Virginia and Maryland, where

where the planters are wholly within themſelves. The moſt conſiderable of the indian nations on the north ſide of the river St. Lawrence, between its mouth and Montreal, are the Papinachors, Jadouſas, Attcameoneks—On the ſouthern ſide are the St. John's indians, and the Abnaquies, all of whom are in the french intereſt; and ſome of them in ſubjection to them.

The firſt place of any note on the River is TROIS-RIVIERES, a town ſo named from its ſituation, at the confluence of three rivers; one whereof is that of St. Lawrence: it lies almoſt in the midway between Quebec and Montreal; it is ſaid to be a well built town, and conſiderable mart, where the indians exchange their ſkins and furs for european goods. 'Tis the reſidence of a governor, who is maintained by trading with the natives for bevers. This place is much infeſted with fleas. The river here is full of ſhelves, and abounds with large eels, of which the inhabitants make great profit.

About three leagues higher, the river St. Lawrence forms a lake, called St. Peter's, which is ſix leagues long; into this lake falls lake Champlain near Sorel, which is a well peopled canton, near four leagues in

front. Champlain extends itſelf, from north to ſouth, between Montreal and Albany, being about 200 miles in length; the ſouthern part of this lake extends almoſt to Hudſon's river, on which our town of Albany ſtands. On this lake the french have built the ſtrong fort of Crown Point on the ſouthermoſt point of it: it is a regular fortification, defended on every ſide by redoubts, particularly to the eaſt, where it is moſt likely to be approached: on the ſouth of Crown Point, lies lake George, which communicates with Champlain lake, by a narrow ſtrait, on which Crown Point ſtands; it is about 40 miles in length, and 20 in breadth. Montreal is diſtant from Crown Point about 90 Miles, and all the way is navigable, except the carrying place. This fort is a very bad thorn in our ſides, it lies ſo conveniently for the french to make inroads into our colonies, and to bridle the neighbouring indians, that there is an abſolute neceſſity to take it, let the expence of ſuch an undertaking be what it will. Not far from hence lies another french fort, called Cohaſſer, which as it is not of any great importance, I ſhall forbear ſpeaking further of. We ſhall follow the courſe of the river, and give ſome account of

MON-

MONTREAL, by ſome called Villemaric, is ſeated in an iſland of the ſame name, which is about five leagues broad, and fourteen long; this iſland lies in a very favourable climate, and is well inhabited and planted. The city is agreeably ſituated on a branch of the river St. Lawrence: it forms an oblong ſquare, divided by regular and well cut ſtreets: it contains three convents with handſome churches, and an hoſpital for the ſick. The fortifications are pretty good. The inhabitants are ſaid to be about 5000. The merchants here are generally factors to thoſe at Quebec. Every one is allowed to trade in this place, which is the beſt for getting an eſtate. The governor generally comes here once a year from Quebec to ſhare the profits, and receive preſents from the natives. What makes Montreal ſo flouriſhing, is the great annual fair, which is held in June; to which the indians come from all parts, even from the diſtance of a thouſand miles. On this occaſion many ſolemnities are obſerved; guards are placed, and the governor aſſiſts to preſerve order in ſuch a concourſe of ſuch a variety of ſavage nations. The trade is now in that channel; for though many, if not moſt of theſe nations, actually paſs by our ſettlement of Albany in New York,

where they may have the goods they want cheaper conſiderably than at Montreal, they travel on, about 200 miles further, to buy the ſame commodities at the ſecond-hand, and enhanced by the expence of ſo long a land carriage, at the french fair. For the french find it cheaper to buy our goods from the New York merchants, than to have them from their own, after ſo bad and ſo tedious a paſſage, as it is from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence to Montreal. So much do the french exceed us in induſtry, œconomy, and the arts of conciliating the affections of mankind, things that even ballance all the diſadvantages they naturally labour under in this country. Our fort of Oſwego was well planed for ſecuring the indian trade, and actually brought us a great part of it. But it is now no longer an interruption to the french commerce. Nothing hardly can be of greater conſequence to us than to preſerve a communication with the lakes; therefore it highly concerns us to reſtore Oſwego, and build in that place a ſtrong fortreſs, to keep armed veſſels on the lake Erie and Ontario, and never to let the french drive us from them. I think it will not be improper here to mention our town of Albany in the province of New York: though it is not of ſo much note for its number

ber of houſes or inhabitants, as for the great trade which is carried on with the indians, and indeed by connivance with the french for the uſe of the ſame people. This trade takes of a great quantity of coarſe woollen goods, ſuch as ſtrouds and duffils, and with theſe, guns, hatchets, knives, hoes, kettles, powder, and ſhot; beſides ſhirts, and cloaths ready made, and ſeveral other articles. As for our forts Edward, and William Henry, &c. on the river Hudſon, and in general moſt of our other forts (as we call them) in this country, they are ſo inconſiderable, as hardly to merit mentioning.

As to the country on the bank of the river St. Lawrence between Montreal and fort Frontenac, it is not ſo well peopled as that between Quebec and Montreal, by far; but here and there you find a plantation: there are ſeveral cataracts between Montreal and fort Frontenac, ſo that the indians who bring the furs to Montreal, are forced to carry them by land at ſuch places. Following the courſe of the river we ſhall next deſcribe fort

FRONTENAC.

This fort is very advantagouſly ſituated for a trade with the iroqueſe or five nations; for their villages lie in the neighbourhood of the lake, upon which they may tranſport their furs in canoes, with more eaſe than they

they can carry 'em over land to New York. This fort before the iroqueſe demoliſh'd it in 1688, was a ſquare, conſiſting of large curtains flank'd with four little baſtions: theſe flanks had but two battlements, and the walls were ſo low, that one might eaſily clime upon them without a ladder. But it is not even at this day to be defended in time of war, becauſe of the cataracts and currents, where 50 iroqueſe are able, with ſtones, to beat 500 armed men; and they, till lately, were better affected to us than to the french, though the enemy have inveagled many of them from our intereſts. This fort lies on the N. E. end of the lake Ontario, about 150 miles S. W. from Montreal. On the north ſide of the river St. Lawrence, between Montreal and fort Frontenac, lies the country conquered by the iroqueſe; and on the ſouth ſide, the iroqueſe and the oneydoes. The iroqueſe, as I have ſaid before, were our antient allies, but many of them now are in the french * intereſt.

* Charlevoix's hiſtory of new France.
Poterie's hiſtory of North America.
New account of the European ſettlements in America.
Douglaſs's hiſtory of North America.
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CHAP. IV.

Of the great Lakes, Louiſiana, river Miſſiſſippi.

IN giving a deſcription of the five great lakes of Canada (the leaſt of which is greater than any other in any part of the world) I ſhall begin with that of

ONTARIO, which is near 280 leagues in circumference; its figure is oval, and its depth runs between 20 and 25 fathom. On the ſouth ſide it receives ſeveral little rivers; and others on the north. Its ſides are deck'd with tall trees, and the ground is indifferent even, and level, for it has no ſteep coaſts. On the north ſide we meet with ſeveral little gulfs. There is a communication between this lake and that of Hurons, by the river Tanaouate, from whence you have a land carriage of ſix or eight leagues to the river Toronto, which falls into it. The villages of the onnontagues, tſonontouans,

ans, goyogouans, and onoyontes, are not far diſtant from the lake Frontenac. Theſe iroqueſe nations are very advantageouſly ſituated They have a pleaſant and fertile country; but they want roebucks and turkeys, as well as fiſh, of which their rivers are altogether deſtitute, inſomuch that they are forced to fiſh in the lake. The french have three forts ſituated on this lake: Frontenac, which commands the river St. Lawrence, where the lake communicates with it. Niagara, which commands the communication between lake Ontario and Erie, and the iroqueſe block'd up and ſtarved the garriſon, ſome time ago, but the french wheedled the indians by their prieſt to let them erect the forts again under the notion of ſtore-houſes. The next lake which we ſhe ſhall deſcibe is

ERIE, this is certainly the fineſt lake upon earth. You may judge of the goodneſs of the climate, from the latitudes of the country that ſurround it. Its circumference extends to two hundred and thirty leagues; but it affords every where ſuch a charming proſpect, that its banks are decked with oak-trees, elms, cheſnut-trees, walnut-trees, apple-trees, plumb-trees, and vines

vines, which bear their fine cluſters up to the very top of the trees, upon a ſort of ground that lies as ſmooth as one's hand. Such ornaments as theſe are ſufficient to give riſe to the moſt agreeable idea of a land-ſkape in the world. Vaſt quantities of deer and turkeys are to be found in theſe woods, and in the vaſt meads that lie upon the ſouth ſide of this lake. At the bottom of this lake we find large quantities of wild beeves upon the banks of two pleaſant rivers that diſembogue into it, without cataracts or rapid currents. It abounds with ſturgeon and white-fiſh; but trouts are very ſcarce in it, as well as the other fiſh that we take in the lake of Hurons and Illioneſs. Tis clear of rocks, ſhelves and banks of ſand; and has fourteen or fifteen fathom water; it is never diſturbed with high winds but in the months of December, January, and February, and even then but ſeldom. The iſlands at the bottom of this lake are well repleniſh'd with roebucks and fruit trees. In fine, if there was but a clear and free paſſage from Quebec to this lake, it might be made a fine, rich, and moſt fertile country. The french have ſeveral forts on the ſouth ſide of this lake, in order to bridle the indians that lay near it.

The lake of HURONS I ſhall next deſcribe, following the courſe of the river St. Lawrence, thro' theſe immenſe inland ſeas. This lake is more than 300 leagues in circumference, it is ſituated in a very fine climate. The north ſide of it is beſt for the navigation of canoes, by reaſon of the frequency of iſles, which afford ſhelter in bad weather. The ſouth ſide is pleaſanter and more convenient for the hunting of deer, which are there very plentiful. Of all its iſles, that called Manitoualin is the moſt conſiderable, being above twenty leagues long, and ten broad. That part of the continent which faces this iſland is inhabited by the nockes, and the miſſitagues in two different villages, which are 20 leagues diſtant, the one from the other. Toward the eaſt end of this iſland, we fall in with the river des Francois; tis as broad as the Seine is at Paris, and runs not above 40 leagues in length from its ſource in the lake Nepicerini to its mouth. To the N. W. of this river, there lies the bay of Toranto, which is 20 or 25 leagues long, and fifteen broad at its mouth. The bay Sakinac is 16 or 17 leagues long, and ſix broad at its mouth. The river Sakinac falls into the bottom of the bay, and runs 60 leagues in length, with a gentle current. On the N. W. part of the

lake

lake, where the lake Michigan and Huron join, ſtands a french fort call'd Miſſilimakinac, by ſome St. Ignace, which is very advantageouſly ſituated to draw the indians to trade with the french, even thoſe which uſed to go to our Hudſon's bay forts, and is thereby a great detriment to that trade. The french have ſeveral other forts on the paſſes and ſtraits about this lake, for the ſame end as the reſt. The indians between the lakes Ontario, Erie and Hurons, have all been conquered by the iroqueſe, who are in the french intereſt, at leaſt thoſe that are ſettled here.

MICHIGAN is the next lake which we find in our courſe, to deſcribe. It is not leſs than 300 leagues in circumference: but is like that of Erie, in being very long, and not broad: 'tis ſeated in an admirable climate: its bank are cloath'd with fine and tall trees, and have but few meads. It has neither ſhelves, rocks, nor banks of ſand. The land which bounds it on the ſouth ſide is repleniſh'd with roebucks, deer, and turkeys. The bay of Puants is 10 leagues broad, and 25 leagues long: it lies at the weſt ſide of the lake. The indians that inhabit about this, and the ſuperior lake, are but little known. I come next to the lake

SUPERIOR, which is the largeſt in America, and the whole world, being 500 leagues in circumference, including the winding of the creeks and the little gulfs. This little freſh water ſea is calm enough from the beginning of May to the end of September. The ſouth ſide is the ſafeſt for the canoes, by reaſon of the many bays, and little rivers, where one may put in, in caſe of a ſtorm. There is no ſettled ſavage nation upon the brinks of the lake that I know of. 'Tis true indeed that in ſummer ſeveral northern nations come to hunt and fiſh in theſe parts, and bring with them the beaver ſkins they have got in the winter, in order to truck with the coureurs de bois, who do not fail to meet them there every year. Some years ago the french built a fort of pales or ſtakes upon this lake, where they had large magazines of all ſorts of goods, and did conſiderable diſſervice to the engliſh ſettlements in Hudſon's bay; by reaſon that it ſaved ſeveral nations the trouble of tranſporting their ſkins to that bay. It has ſome pretty large iſlands which abound with elks and wild aſſes; but there's ſcarce any that goes to hunt upon them, by reaſon of the danger of croſſing over. In fine, this lake abounds with ſturgeon, trout, and white fiſh. The climate is almoſt unſufferably cold, for ſix months of the year, and

and the ſnow joined to the froſt, commonly freezes the water of the lake for 10 or 12 leagues over.

We come next to give ſome account of the vaſt country, by the french nam'd, Louiſiana. It was heretofore a part of Florida. It is bounded by the gulf of Mexico on the ſouth; by Canada on the north, by Mexico likewiſe on the weſt, and by our colonies on the eaſt. This is, in all reſpects, a much finer country than Canada; in a delicious climate, capable of bearing almoſt any thing, from the temper of the ſky, and the goodneſs of the ſoil, and from the multitude of long, deep, any beautiful rivers, with which it is every where enriched and adorned: theſe are moſt of them navigable for hundreds of miles into the country. They are principally the Miſſiſſippi, the Ohio, the Ouabache, the Alibama, the Mobile, and ſeveral others. The face of the country is almoſt wholly plain, covered with ſtately woods, or ſpread into very fine meadows. In ſhort Louiſiana, particularly the northern part (for the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi is barren) without any of theſe heightenings, which it received when it was made the inſtrument to captivate ſo many to their ruin, is in all reſpects a moſt deſirable place; though there be no ſufficient reaſons to believe that it contains any

rich

rich metals, which gave it the greateſt influence in that remarkable deluſion in 1717.

The french ſettled in Louiſiana, raiſe ſome indigo, a good deal of cotton, ſome corn and rice, with lumber for their iſlands; but the colony is not very vigorous on account of the ſhoals and ſands with which the mouth of the river Miſſiſſippi is, in a manner, choaked up, and which deny acceſs to veſſels of any conſiderable burthen. This keeps the inhabitants low; but the cauſe which keeps them from growing rich, contributes too to their ſecurity; for it is not eaſy to act with any great force upon that ſide.

The chief of the rivers, in this vaſt country, are firſt, the Miſſiſſippi, whoſe head is unknown, but it almoſt goes quite through North America; and, at certain ſeaſons, overflows its banks for a vaſt way on both ſides. It receives innumerable rivers in its courſe; when the great river Miſſouri falls into it, it is half a league broad, a little ſouth of which is fort de Chartres, and a village of french planters, beſides two villages of chriſtian natives; and where even the natives are employed in cloth manufactures; and the ſoil produces very good wheat. The Ohio is another very great river, which runs through great part of our colonies of Pennſilvania and Carolina, and

waters

waters a country near 500 miles ſquare, which is reckon'd one of the fineſt countries of North America: this river is according to ſome accounts not leſs than ten or twelve thouſand miles long (though this computation muſt vaſtly exceed the truth) from its ſource near the habitations of the ſix nations, to its conflux with the Miſſiſſippi, having ſeveral large rivers falling into it, that ſpread over a prodigious extent of country, belonging to our colonies. The Ohio is alſo remarkable for its gentle current, contrary to moſt of the inland rivers of North America, which are very rapid and have a great many cataracts, or falls in them: but in the Ohio we know but of one fall, being navigable both up and down. The Ohio is very crooked, as is common with rivers running through a level country as this does: but the current is by theſe windings render'd much gentler, and conſequently the river more eaſy to navigate: this is the caſe of the Ohio, for it is navigable from the Miſſiſſippi, almoſt to the river Senekaas, which falls into lake Ontario at Oſwego. The country on the ſouth ſide of the Ohio is very mountainous and difficult to paſs for ſome hundred miles. The Apalachean mountains there, extend weſt, within one or two hundred miles of the Miſſi-

Miſſiſſippi. But on the north ſide of the Ohio, between that, and lake Erie, the country is level and very fertile, being alſo watered with numbers of rivers that run through it from the banks of lake Erie to the Ohio.

We need not therefore wonder, that the french, or any others, ſhould be deſirous of maintaining themſelves in this country, as they may do it at little or no expence; eſpecially as they have ſuch numbers of the natives at their command. Here they will ſoon encreaſe and multiply to the conſtant diſturbance of all our colonies, as long as they are ſuffered to poſſeſs the country, ſouth of lake Erie. If we conſider the ſituation of this country, between the Ohio and lake Erie, not above fifty or ſixty miles broad in the eaſtern, but between two and three hundred in the weſtern parts, bounded on one hand by the great lakes; and, on the other, by extenſive ridges of mountains; having this convenient and navigable river between them, leading directly into the middle of our ſettlements from all the interior parts of the continent: oppoſite to which, likewiſe, are many paſſes in the mountains, and navigable rivers, down to the maritine parts: if we conſider all this, with the attention it deſerves, we ſhall ſurely have no

reaſon

reaſon to aſk, of what conſequence muſt this country be to us? nor be deſtitute of motives ſufficient to make us conſcious of our fatal neglect. Not to mention the vaſt increaſe of people, power, trade, and commerce, that this country, on the Ohio, muſt neceſſarily produce; its uſefulneſs would abundantly appear, if we only conſider its advantage in ſecuring the poſſeſſions, we already have, and which, without it, will be very difficult, if not impoſſible. Fort du Queſne, and Niagara alone, would protect our colonies from both the french and indians, if well ſecured by us: but on the other ſide, if they remain in the hands of the french, we ſhall have an inland frontier of between two and three thouſand miles in extent to defend; conſtantly expoſed to the incurſions of a hoſtile and war-like enemy. The french have ſeveral forts on this great river, which is ſo important to us: but the chief of them is fort du Queſne, by which, and fort Niagara, they unite their colonies and ſtragling ſettlements together: this place is about midway, between Canada and Louiſiania, and ſerves as a middle ſtation between theſe two french colonies, for which it is more convenient than any other place in all north America: it ſtands at the ſame time in a fine fertile country of vaſt ex-

tent, and in a healthy climate. At the ſame time, the french have many indians about fort du Queſne to ſupport them and other ſettlements. This fort is convenient not only to Canada and Louiſiana but alſo to all the ſettlements the french have among the indians, up and down the whole continent of north America: by means of this fort, they bridle all the indians round about it. We may ſoon expect to ſee fort du Queſne become as conſiderable and reſpectable a place, as it is a convenient and important one, and to be made another Louiſburg, or Quebec, if it remains in the hands of the french.

The french have, according to their uſual cautions and wiſe cuſtom, erected ſeveral forts in the moſt material places in Louiſiana, and fortify'd New Orleans, their capital, and indeed the only city in Louiſiana, in a regular manner. This city is not remarkably fair, large, or rich; but it is laid out regularly in a fine ſituation, on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, in proſpect of an higher fortune. The whole country is ſaid to contain not above 10,000 ſouls, whites and negroes: yet with all its diſadvantages this colony is not declining: and if ever they ſhould make the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi more tractable (and what is

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impoſſible to ambition and induſtry?) if they ſhould come to fully poſſeſs and ſettle the Ohio, which at one ſeaſon overflows, and makes ſuch flood as to level all the falls, almoſt from its very ſource, to the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, and give a paſſage all that way to very conſiderable veſſels; and if by this and other means they ſhould contrive a communication between Canada and tho ſettlement at Louiſiana, whilſt they entirely confine us, between our mountains and the ſea, Louiſiana, in a few years, will wear quite another face. It will ſupply their weſt Indies with boards, ſtaves, horſes and mules, and proviſions. It will ſend tobacco into France, and increaſing the conveniencies of its mother country, and ſiſter colonies; it will encreaſe its own traffic, its inhabitants and its power. But the french not truſting to this remote proſpect, have eſtabliſhed themſelves at the mouth of the Mobile, a river which falls into the gulf of Mexico. And many are of opinion that this is a more advantageous ſituation, not only for the maritime, but for the inland commerce, and the communication of their colonies, than the Miſſiſſippi. It certainly approaches much nearer to our ſettlements, and whilſt it ſerves the french better, is much better calculated to annoy

our ſouthern colonies. We have ſeen how the french weſt Indies, in leſs than forty years, from a condition which could excite no other ſentiments, than thoſe of compaſſion, are riſen to ſuch a pitch as to be an object of great and juſt terror to her neighbours; and we now feel too that the french ſettlements in north America, even ſuch as they are, are not an under match for the whole force of ours, in the manner at leaſt in which that force is exerted.*

* Charlevoix's hiſtory of new France.
New account of the European ſettlements.
La Honton's voyage to north America,
Compleat ſyſtem of geography.
Harris's collection of voyages, &c.
Potèrie's hiſtory of North America.
Salmon's modern hiſtory.
Colden's hiſtory of the indian nations.
Douglaſs's hiſtory of North America.
Britiſh empire in America.
Keith's hiſtory of the Britiſh plantations.
Salmon's univerſal traveller.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

CANDID REFLECTIONS ON THE IMPORTANCE of the WAR, In North America.

AS our colonies in America are now the chief ſupport of our trade, and conſequently of our naval ſtrength; and as France is our moſt dangerous rival in that part of the world, as well as in Europe, ſurely the ſecuring our own colonies and the conqueſt or deſtruction of the french ſettlements in America, ought to be our principal view, as often as we are engaged in any war againſt that reſtleſs and ambitious nation: this was always thought neceſſary for the ſafety and improvement of our own plantations. From what I have ſaid above, it at appears that the french, by means of their ſettlements in Canada, and Louiſiana, have entirely ſurrounded our ſettlements upon the continent of north America, and thereby abſolutely cut us off from all correſpondence with the natives of that vaſt continent, except the few that inhabit the country

country, which, in fact, belong to our own colonies. And from this it appears that they have now opened a communication, moſtly by water carriage, from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, to the mouth of the river Miſſiſſippi; and have, in a manner, taken poſſeſſion of thoſe great lakes in north America, which are the largeſt of any in the known world.

But it is not our colonies only that are in danger, from the increaſe of the french in north America; our very being, as a free and independent nation, is in danger. I believe it will be acknowledged that our very being, as an independent nation, depends upon the ſuperiority of our naval power; and it muſt be acknowledged that the naval power of every nation depends upon it naval commerce; for without the latter it is impoſſible to have ſeamen for ſupplying the former. The numerous fleets which the french now ſend out yearly to the weſt Indies, and the many captures we have made, are convincing proofs how much they have encreaſed their naval commerce ſince the treaty of Utrecht. What may we then expect, ſhould they once have numerous ſettlements upon the river Miſſiſſippi and the lakes of Canada, together with thriving fiſheries in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and upon the banks of Newfoundand? The navigation upon the river,

and the navigation and fiſheries upon theſe great lakes, will be a nurſery for ſeamen, which will afford a conſiderable ſupply, both for their naval commerce and their fiſheries upon the ocean; ſo that in a ſhort time they may come to have more ſeamen than we have, and then I may propheſy, they will ſoon have a ſuperior navy.

This we ought to be the more afraid of, becauſe from all accounts it appears, that the french are much more artful and diligent than we are, both in making ſettlements among, and in gaining the affection of the indians. They no ſooner conclude a treaty of frendſhip with any nation of indians, than they obtain leave to ſend a prieſt or two, and to eſtabliſh what they call a miſſion among them; and this the indians eaſily agree to, becauſe they have no jealouſy of men who pretend to have no concern about any thing but religion, and are often of great ſervice, by their ſkill in phyſic and ſurgery; by which means the ſrench have eſtabliſhed miſſions in ſeveral places, where any thing like a fort and gariſon would have raiſed the whole nation of indians in arms againſt them. Theſe prieſts, however, are not only of great ſervice to their traders, but ſerve them as ſpies, and alſo contribute greatly to preſerving the friendſhip of the nation where they are eſtabliſhed; and as the prieſt

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muſt have a houſe and a chapel; theſe miſſions are ſometimes, by degrees, turned into a fort and garriſon; for which an invaſion from ſome neighbouring indian nation, generally ſoon furniſh them with a pretence.

Then in chuſing prieſts to be ſent to America, the french act much more wiſely than we do. Inſtead of ſending clergymen thither, who by their debaucheries or bad conduct have loſt their character at home, and who are more apt to give the indians an averſion than to convert them to chriſtianity; I ſay, inſtead of ſending ſuch clergymen or prieſts to America, the french pick out the greateſt enthuſiaſts they can find in France. Men, who really make a conſcience of religion, who are zealous in making converts, and even ambitious of becoming martyrs to the popiſh faith; of which there are always great numbers in France.

Thus with regard to churchmen to be employed in America, the french infinitely excel us; and even with regard to laymen, they are at more pains to find out ſuch men, as are proper for the buſineſs in which they are to be employed. From hence we may ſee that the french pick out proper men for the execution of every deſign they have in America, and improve every accident to their

their advantage. To our inattention to our affairs in America, the french owe all the poſſeſſions they have there. We reſtored Canada to them, after we had conquered it in Charles the firſt's time; we left them in poſſeſſion of that country and the ſugar iſlands, notwithſtanding our ſuperiority at ſea in both the laſt wars. We allowed them to make ſettlements on the river Miſſiſſippi to which we had a prior right, in the year 1718, when the leaſt menace from us would have made them give over the deſign; and we allowed them to build a fort and make a ſettlement at Niagara in time of full peace, though we had a right to forbid it, becauſe the country belonged to our allies, or rather ſubjects, the iroqueſe. If at the next peace the french be left in quiet enjoyment of their preſent poſſeſſions in America, I may propheſy that in the next war we ſhall find them a more equal match for us at ſea, eſpecially if we ſhould reſtore them Cape Breton, or permit them to make any ſettlement in Acadia.

The french have a chain of forts, from which they can annoy us in all quarters, while they are ſecure themſelves; the principal of theſe are Crown point, Fort du Queſne, and Niagaria, but eſpically the two latter; the deſtroying Crown point will

prevent the preſent inſults of the french; but the deſtruction of du Queſne and Niagara will ſap the very foundations of their uſurpt power, and give us peace upon our own terms. But I am far from thinking our colonies will ever be able to make any figure in the attacking the french forts, unleſs they are united under one viceroy or generaliſſimo: over thoſe extenſive coutries the ſpaniards poſſeſs in north and ſouth America, there are but two viceroys: in Canada and Louiſiana equal in extent to all the britiſh colonies, the french have but one governor in chief or generaliſſimo, who can unite the whole force of the french in that part of the world againſt any one of the britiſh colonies he pleaſes to attack: While the countries in America poſſeſs'd by the engliſh, ſeem to be much in the ſame ſtate that Britain was on the invaſion of the romans, divided under ſeveral chiefs, and conſequently eaſily ſubdued one after another, by the united force of their enemies. The colonies depending immediately on the crown, ſuch as Virginia and New York, have been much leſs harraſſed by the indians, and much better prepar'd to defend their reſpective countries than the charter governments of New England. If they were united under one head we might ſoon ex-

expect to ſee the french drove out of north America, for they would never be able to reſiſt the whole ſtrength of our plantations, if it was united properly againſt them. There are ſome objections to this ſcheme, and ſo there muſt be to every one that can be offered, and that which has leaſt inconveniencies attending it, ought to be embrac'd. I am of opinion, with ſeveral other gentlemen, who know that country perfectly well, that in time of war the beſt thing we could endeavour to do, would be an attack on Quebec, eſpecially at this ſeaſon when we have a large force there, elated with their late ſucceſs. Quebec is not ſtrong, and if a fleet and a conſiderable body of land forces were ſent up the river St. Lawrence at a proper ſeaſon of the year, with ſkilful pilots, I make no doubt, (ſetting aſide any very unlikely and unforeſeen accidents) but they would give a good account of this city. If they could once land their men in ſafety, their buſineſs would be done: as to the city, the fortifications are but paltry: I know that it is objected, that the bad navigation of the river St. Lawrence, world deter any admiral from undertaking the command in ſuch an expedition; but as long as the King has authority to oblige all officers in his ſervice to obey command, I think this objection will ſignify

very little. If Quebec was taken, all Canada would fall of courſe; very ſoon none of their forts or ſettlements on the lakes could ſubſiſt, but muſt ſurrender directly.

I have already obſerved that the trade of our colonies deſerves a more paticular attention then any other, not only on account of the advantages I have juſt mentioned but becauſe our attention is ſure of being ſufficiently rewarded. The object is in our own power, it is of a good kind, and of ſuch extent and variety, as to employ nobly the moſt inventive genius in thoſe matters. Foreign politics have ſome thing more ſplendid and entertaining than domeſtic prudence: but this latter is ever attended, though with leſs glaring, yet with infinitely more ſolid, ſecure and more laſting advantages. The great point of our regard in America, ought therefore to be the effectual peopling, employment, and ſtrength of our poſſeſſions there; in a ſubordinate degree, the management of our intereſts with regard to the french and ſpaniards. The latter we have reaſon to reſpect, to indulge, and even perhaps to endure; and more, it is probable, may be had from them in that way, than by the violent methods which ſome have ſo warmly recommended, and ſtill urge, tho' we have had ſome experience to convince us of their inſufficiency. But the nature of the

french, their ſituation, their deſigns, every thing has ſhewn that we ought to uſe every method to repreſs them, to prevent them from extending their territories, their trade, or their influence, and above all, to connive at not the leaſt encroachment; but this in ſuch a manner as not to ſtrain our own ſtrength, or turn our eyes from ſerving ourſelves by attempts to diſtreſs them. But as we are now in the midſt of a war, until that is decided, it will be impoſſible to ſay any thing ſatisfactory on our connections with french America, until we ſee what the next treaty of peace will do in the diſtribution of the territory of the two nations there.

We ſhould conſider that the riches of the plantations, are our riches; their forces, our forces; and their ſhipping, our ſhipping; as theſe proſper, ſo will their mother country proſper of courſe: hither all their wealth flows in the end. They either bring their eſtates over to England, if they meet with ſucceſs; or they live in an elegent manner there, and import our manufactures. We ſhould need ſcarce any other foreign trade, therefore we ſhould want nothing that other countries produce, if the plantations were encouraged; for the materials they might raiſe, would abundantly employ all our

our idle hands, and furniſh us with every thing that coutributes to the ſupport or conveniencies of life. Can we then do too much for our colonies, when in ſupporting them, we moſt effectually ſerve ourſelves? Let us not be afraid of leſſening the revenue, by prohibiting foreign mauufactures, if it tends to enrich the nation; for the richer the people are, the better able will they be to ſupport the government; and the legiſlature can never be at a loſs for ways and means to raiſe money, if the people have it in their purſes.

In this chapter I have dwelt the longer upon the french policy as it regards their colonies, becauſe it is juſt to give due honor to all thoſe, who advance the intercourſe of mankind, the peopling of the earth, and the advantage of their country by wiſe and effectual regulations. But I principally inſiſt upon it, that it may, if poſſible, ſerve for an example to ourſelves; that it may excite an emulation in us; that it may help to rouſe us out of that languor into which we ſeem to be fallen. The war we now carry on, principally regards our colonies, and is a ſufficient proof that we are come at laſt to know their value. But if we are not to hope for better ſucceſs on the continent of Ame-

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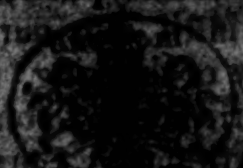
rica than has hitherto attended a very juſt cauſe, the next peace will probably contract the field we hoped to lay open to our induſtry in America. But we ought therefore to cultivate what ſtill remains of it, with tenfold induſtry; we ought to guard with the moſt unremitting vigilance that incloſed ſpring, that ſealed fountain, the waters of which we reſerve to ourſelves, and direct into ſuch channels, and make to purſue ſuch windings and turnings, as beſt ſerve our purpoſes. We have, I believe, pretty well diſcovered moſt of our errors, and the advantage our enemy and rival has taken, not only of our ſupineneſs, but of a contrary genius in his own councils. We ought to rouſe ourſelves from the former, and prepare to imitate the latter. Our buſineſs is to fight againſt Alexander, not to rail at him. And truly I do not know any thing, that for this long time paſt has contributed more to degrade our characters for humanity in the eyes of foreigners, or to inſtil into ourſelves, a low and illiberal way of thinking, than that vein of licentious ſcurrillity and abuſe, by which, in all ſorts of writings, we are apt to vilify and traduce the french nation. There is nothing which hinders people from acting properly more than indulging themſelves

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